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regime. That President Duvalier has been able to stay in power in spite of internal disaffection, sometime hostile United States propaganda, a dire economic situation, personal ill health, and other woes, is a tribute to his political acumen, if not to his principles. None of this means, of course, that such consummate skill will continue to work; Haitian governments have a way of falling suddenly, and the Duvalier regime will probably not prove an exception.

Dr. Duvalier's success indicates that he has made certain correct assessments, not only of Haiti's social and political structure but also of United States policy with regard to Haiti. The occupation was notable for its failure to make any telling alterations in the economic structure or level of development of the country. Many beneficial changes were made, as Leyburn demonstrates, particularly in the areas of health and health services, communications, government administration, education, and transport (though the use of corvée labor on the roads led to serious abuses, and stimulated sanguinary guerilla warfare). But most significantly, the United States institutionalized the army and police forces. The ragged bands of political mercenaries of the past were dissolved; the officer-ridden army was transformed into a small, well-trained, and well-organized force. Eventual firm control by this force of weaponry, communications, and transport ended the era of presidential succession by invasion, turned the army into the major locus of nonelectoral, president-making power, and may have ended forever the possibility of an agrarian revolt against the central authority. Another political effect of the occupation was the importance it imparted to the United States ambassador, whose political opinions thereafter would matter significantly in the transmission of power at the top of the Haitian governmental system. The Duvalier regime has continuously taken full account of the consequences of United States interest; and its leaders have been able to watch the operation of that interest in the political events occurring between the fall of the Lescot government and the present.

In the view of one acute observer, President Duvalier, in order to consolidate his power, had to cope with three other loci of political strength in addition to the army and the United States ambassador. The business community, located for the most part in Port-au-Prince, had strongly supported Déjoie's candidacy during the interregnum; its leaders were mainly members of the elite, and many had strong

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Since it was an entrenched interest, however, no responsible statesman had dared to threaten its hold. The Marines swept it out of existence, undertaking to substitute for it a trained constabulary of only 2,000 men who should combine routine military tasks with police duty in the scattered towns. Results were immediately apparent: the weighty incubus of soldiers' wages was lifted from the treasury; thousands of men were deprived of sinecures and put back into productive economic activities; the constant threat of armed revolution was removed; better order was kept by 2,000 trained men in trim uniform than by twelve times that number of ragged loafers who called themselves soldiers; and since the army was no longer the great steppingstone to political office, the élite felt more secure from assault by ambitious but uneducated army men. From 1843 to 1915 the élite had endured many lower-caste presidents because these were able to control the army; now the army had disappeared.

The Marines did much that was of indisputable benefit to Haiti. This was acknowledged even by the most vocal patriots who soon began to campaign for an end of the Occupation. Where there had been no real work in public health, Americans now built hospitals, established clinics, cleaned up the sources of many diseases, laid down sewage systems, gave the towns pure water. In 1915 there were only three automobiles in the country, and no roads for them to travel; the Americans built many miles of paved roads. In 1915 there had been only one wharf, two short stretches of railroad, two lighthouses, one electric plant; the Americans undertook electrification, telephone systems, the construction of administration buildings, and other public conveniences. Whether in such visible matters or in the obscurer realms of currency, banking, and budgets hardly a phase of daily life was left untouched. And judged by the standards of civilization the Marines improved what they touched.

But rancor against the Americans began early and continued to the bitter end in 1934. The pride of all Haitians was deeply wounded by the Occupation. For 111 years they had governed themselves and had assumed themselves to be a sovereign nation; the Marines patroling the countryside were vivid reminders that Haiti had never been independent except by sufferance, and that white men were once more overseeing the destinies of colored and Negro men. Nevertheless, the reasons proclaimed for opposing the Occupation were not those of hurt vanity. Some of those given were entirely

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not find herself constantly embroiled with European states and American financial interests. The Haitian debt was funded, and a financial adviser remained in the country even after the Occupation came to an end. It is expected that by 1943 the last debt will be paid; the financial adviser, however, withdrew in 1941. Since the Occupation, although the republic has been free to manage her own affairs, she has consulted frequently with the State Department in Washington.

Nineteen years of occupation ended the century of Haitian isolation. The Americans built roads, conducted health campaigns, made their presence felt even in remote hamlets and valleys. American authors, political, romantic, and sensational, discovered the Antillean republic. Steamship companies stopped their cruises for a few hours at Cap-Haïtien to allow tourists to visit the Citadel, and at Port-au-Prince to see the sights of the capital. Every Haitian now realizes that there is a world outside.

Whatever crises have arisen in Haitian affairs, certain problems have persisted. For whom do they constitute a source of worry? Since the government has always been a dictatorship, limited or absolute, subject to no party control, the incumbents of office have never had the experience of being constantly reminded by their opponents of the misery or daily worries of the population. After a hundred years the people have learned that relief is not to be expected from politicians. Occasionally a dramatic revolutionary leader has persuaded some of the people that the officials in power were responsible for their distress, and so worked up a following; yet even when such movements succeeded, the masses never benefited. To most governments of the past century Haiti's problem has been only one: to frustrate insurrection. There is evidence that recent administrations have busied themselves assiduously with the country's internal problems, although none of them has been adequately solved. The élite, at least as a group, do not feel any apparent responsibility for the maladjustments, nor obligation to effect the necessary reforms. A few patriots, and those almost without exception not in office, know what ails the country and say so; a smaller number propose reasonable solutions. The problems remain. Of these the three outstanding are overpopulation with all its accompanying ills, health, and education.

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apparently hale and hearty, but lassitude sapping all energy. A group of doctors from the Rockefeller Foundation discovered that among 4,439 persons examined in various surveys two decades ago sixty-seven per cent showed malarial parasites in the blood. Since the American Occupation steps have been taken to control the disease and much progress has resulted: some of the towns are now practically free of it. But the battle against malaria will never be won so long as the anopheles mosquito breeds in the island; it means an endless war of constant vigilance as well as education—one which must be carried on simultaneously in the neighboring Dominican Republic.

Hookworm, like malaria, is also ordinarily quite undramatic in its symptoms. There is no specific pain, but rather a progressive inertia. Since practically every country person goes barefoot it would be miraculous if hookworm were not widespread, for sanitation is entirely lacking in peasant communities. Dr. Lhérisson reported in 1935 that twenty-six per cent of the mass of Haitian people examined up to that time had been found infested by hookworms. The final figure will probably be revised upward, for the persons most easily examined are townspeople who have better sanitation and more shoes. Only the Cul-de-Sac plain, extending east from Port-au-Prince, is free of the disease, for the larvae do not develop in salty ground. Hookworm attacks not only the barefoot, but likewise the well shod. Poor sanitation and geophagy suggest themselves as two explanations of this fact.

Like malaria, hookworm has been accepted calmly enough as one of the normal burdens of life. In slave days and for some time thereafter it was called "stomach trouble," and since it was common, was not even a case for the Vodun practitioner. It was not until 1924 that the Rockefeller Foundation through its Payne mission revealed the significance of the disease and began to establish dispensaries in country districts and undertake a campaign of sanitation. If every Haitian were to wear shoes the incidence of the disease would, of course, decidedly decrease; but the advice to wear shoes is a counsel of perfection, for large peasant families are no more able to afford this luxury than all American families are able to buy champagne and caviar. Progress has been made along the lines of hygiene and sanitation, but hookworm continues to undermine the energy of the people.

Yaws is, of the morbid triad, the most virulent and the common-

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est. It was brought over from Africa apparently as early as 1509.[7] Oviedo describes it in 1526 as "a terrible pustular disease."[8] It so closely resembles syphilis that it has often been mistaken for that malady.[9] Untreated or wrongly treated it ravages the bodies of its victims, making them loathesome to behold. In the neighborhood of Port-au-Prince the Rockefeller staff found, out of 2,564 persons examined, 78 per cent affected with yaws. What is even more disturbing is that the young are afflicted. Dr. Lhérisson's investigations in one district revealed that 61.1 per cent of the cases were of children under ten.

An American, Dr. Paul Wilson, in 1922 first called yaws the primary physical curse of Haiti. He insisted "that the first need of rural Haiti was soap, salvarsan, and sunshine, and that the good Lord would furnish the sunshine."[10] The Haitian government immediately began to spend large sums to combat the disease. In the Jacmel region in one year (1925–26) 167,267 cases of yaws were treated; in 1926 over 200,000 injections of arsenicals against the disease were administered throughout the republic; and by 1931 the Public Health Service had given in twelve years 2,655,386 injections. Progress has been swift, but the fight against yaws is one which has to be waged continually.

It would probably be not far from the truth to say that for two centuries the majority of Haitian Negroes have been afflicted to a greater or less degree with malaria, hookworm, and yaws, either singly or together. Next to these dire diseases comes a group which seems to have affected from a tenth to one half the population: tuberculosis, dysentery, enteritis, and granular conjunctivitis. Tuberculosis progresses rapidly when it appears. The people have never developed a specific immunity to it, and promiscuous sex relations play their part in spreading the disease by contagion. In seven hundred autopsies performed in one year at the General Hospital of Port-au-Prince, twenty-six per cent of the deaths were due to tuberculosis. Spring water in the country districts is frequently pol-

7. M. G. Levacher, *Guide médical des Antilles* (Paris, 1847), p. 280.
8. Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, *La Historia natural y general de las Indias* (Madrid, 1535).
9. Dr. Pierson, *History of Haitian Medicine*, p. xviii, speaks of it as "blood brother of European syphilis, if not the same disease modified by age incidence, social environment, and racial differences."
10. *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

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baby: when she does she substitutes a mode of feeding on fruits and solids which favors digestive disturbance and nutritive diseases in the infant.

At the age when children of the élite would be starting to school, peasant children are beginning work in the fields, hoeing, weeding, and carrying, always under the tropical sun. Cuts and bruises, sometimes serious, are improperly treated when they occur and so lead to tetanus or to enormous ulcers.

Hard work and a simple mode of outdoor life prove, in Haiti at least, not to be the keys to good health which a romantic might fancy them. Haiti has been one of the unhealthiest places in the world. One feels that it has been lucky to escape such scourges as typhus, cholera, and bubonic plague; that smallpox has not been violent in its epidemics, and that the people developed an immunity to yellow fever. It has, indeed, been luck rather than cleanliness and proper medical care which has protected the people in these instances.

In 1838 Boyer founded a hospital school at Port-au-Prince, giving it the name of The National School of Medicine. It did not function as a school, however, until 1860 when Geffrard reorganized it and gave it life. Geffrard also sent young men to Europe to study, installed laboratories of physics and chemistry in the upper schools of the capital, and made possible the appearance of an intellectual élite."[11] The next burst of energy in matters of hygiene came around 1890 when, under the influence of Dr. Léon Audain, the first health records were kept, and the spirit of scientific research reached Haitian medicine.

From 1804 to 1860, then, there was practically no proper care for sick people. In the latter years of the century a few trained physicians, with sadly deficient equipment, practiced in the towns. Not until after the Occupation was the rural mass of the population even touched by the medical knowledge which had been developing all over the civilized world for decades. Clinics, wholesale vaccinations and inoculations, and campaigns of enlightenment have in the past twenty years worked wonders. The Vodun practitioner, however, still is the "expert" who treats most illnesses, and healing remains one of his major functions.

11. Geffrard established schools of law, music, painting, and navigation. The latter two collapsed. The same president founded the high schools of Port-au-Prince, Jacmel, and Gonaïves.